

HART-TEETER
1724 Connecticut Avenue, NW
Washington, DC 20009
(202) 234-5570

Interviews: 1508 Respondents
Dates: October 22-26, 1993

47 Male
53 Female
[5]

FINAL

Study #4042
NBC News/WSJ
October 1993

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[6]	[8]	[9]	[12]		[13]	[14]
1		1			1	3

Hello, my name is _____ and I'm calling from Hart-Teeter for NBC News and *The Wall Street Journal*. We're conducting a confidential poll of public opinion across the country. Of the people living in your household who are at least 18 years old, including those who are not home right now, can you tell me who has had the most recent birthday? (IF PERSON DOESN'T KNOW ALL THE BIRTHDAYS, SAY:) Well, of the ones you do know, who has had the last birthday? May I speak to that person please? (IF PERSON WITH MOST RECENT BIRTHDAY IS NOT HOME, FIND OUT WHEN HE/SHE WILL RETURN AND MAKE AN APPOINTMENT TO CALL BACK.)

(IF RESPONDENT INDICATES THAT HE/SHE IS THE ONE WITH THE MOST RECENT BIRTHDAY, SAY:) Here is my first question. (PROCEED IMMEDIATELY TO QUESTION #1--DO NOT PAUSE.)

(IF RESPONDENT INDICATES THAT HE/SHE IS NOT THE ONE TO HAVE THE MOST RECENT BIRTHDAY, ASK TO SPEAK TO THE PERSON WHO DID. AFTER RESPONDENT COMES TO THE PHONE, SAY:)

Hello, my name is _____ and I'm calling from Hart-Teeter for NBC News and *The Wall Street Journal*. We're conducting a confidential poll of public opinion across the country. Are you at least 18 years old and the person with the most recent birthday of all the adults living in this household? (IF "YES," SAY:) Here is my first question. (PROCEED IMMEDIATELY TO QUESTION #1--DO NOT PAUSE.)

1. Are you currently registered to vote in the precinct or election district where you now live, or haven't you had a chance to register yet?

Registered	8	[15]
	0	1
Not registered.....	2	
	0	
Not sure.....	-	

2. All in all, do you think things in the nation are generally headed in the right direction, or do you feel that things are off on the wrong track?

	<u>10/9</u>	<u>9/93</u>	<u>7/93</u>	<u>6/93</u>	<u>4/93</u>	<u>3/93</u>	<u>1/93</u>	<u>12/9</u>	<u>5/9</u>	<u>9/91</u>	
Right direction.....	<u>3</u> 27	33	27	27	37	43	47	<u>2</u> 45	<u>2</u> 15	34	[16]
Wrong track.....	54	49	55	56	44	35	27	32	71	48	1
Mixed (VOL).....	14	12	13	10	11	11	14	11	9	13	

Not sure..... 5 | 6 5 7 8 11 12 12 5 5

3. I'm going to read you the names of several public figures and institutions. I'd like you to rate your feelings toward each one as either very positive, somewhat positive, neutral, somewhat negative, or very negative. If you don't know the name, please just say so. **(READ EACH ITEM AND REPEAT CHOICES. START FROM THE BOTTOM AND WORK YOUR WAY UP ON EVERY OTHER INTERVIEW.)**

	<u>Very Positive</u>	<u>Somewhat Positive</u>	<u>Neu- tral</u>	<u>Somewhat Negative</u>	<u>Very Negative</u>	<u>Don't Know Name/ Not Sure</u>	
Bill Clinton							
October 1993.....	16	30	18	16	19	1	[17]
September 1993.....	18	32	15	17	17	1	
July 1993.....	15	31	17	16	20	1	
June 1993.....	16	28	15	17	23	1	
April 1993.....	25	27	18	13	16	1	
March 1993.....	26	30	15	12	14	3	
January 1993.....	33	31	15	9	7	5	
December 1993.....	26	34	18	10	9	3	
May 1992.....	8	24	24	23	14	7	
Hillary Rodham Clinton							
October 1993.....	22	26	17	14	19	2	[18]
September 1993.....	20	26	21	13	17	3	
July 1993.....	20	30	19	12	17	2	
June 1993.....	21	26	18	12	19	4	
April 1993.....	25	28	18	12	14	3	
March 1993.....	25	29	18	11	12	5	
January 1993.....	27	30	21	8	8	6	
December 1993.....	21	25	25	8	11	10	
Al Gore							
October 1993.....	14	28	25	13	14	6	[19]
September 1993.....	17	30	24	12	12	5	
March 1993.....	19	28	23	12	9	9	
January 1993.....	23	32	22	9	6	8	
December 1993.....	21	30	21	10	9	9	
Ross Perot							
October 1993.....	11	19	25	22	20	3	[20]
September 1993.....	12	24	26	19	16	3	
July 1993.....	13	24	25	17	17	4	
June 1993.....	16	25	24	16	15	4	
April 1993.....	17	27	27	15	11	3	
March 1993.....	16	31	25	13	11	4	
January 1993.....	16	26	24	16	14	4	
December 1993.....	13	22	27	18	15	5	
May 1992.....	12	20	25	7	6	30	
Bob Dole							
October 1993.....	12	26	24	14	10	14	[21]
September 1993.....	13	25	24	14	10	14	
July 1993.....	10	22	25	14	13	16	
June 1993.....	15	25	24	12	10	14	
April 1993.....	13	25	26	11	7	18	
Q.3 (cont'd)							
	<u>Very Positive</u>	<u>Somewhat Positive</u>	<u>Neu- tral</u>	<u>Somewhat Negative</u>	<u>Very Negative</u>	<u>Don't Know Name/ Not Sure</u>	
Dan Quayle							
October 1993.....	8	16	28	20	24	4	[22]
June 1993.....	7	19	26	20	24	4	
October 1992.....	7	19	16	22	34	2	

May 1992.....	5	18	28	21	23	5	
October 1991.....	10	25	28	15	18	4	
October 1990.....	5	22	28	19	19	7	
November 1989.....	7	22	26	17	21	7	
Jack Kemp							
October 1993.....	9	19	24	7	4	37	[23]
Colin Powell							
October 1993.....	35	30	15	4	1	15	[24]
September 1993.....	32	27	17	4	3	17	
June 1993.....	37	27	13	4	2	17	
May 1991*.....	37	30	14	3	2	14	
March 1991*.....	43	28	8	2	1	18	
February 1991*.....	46	22	8	2	1	21	
The Republican Party							
October 1993.....	16	28	27	15	11	3	[25]
April 1993.....	9	30	26	18	13	4	
March 1993.....	8	27	23	22	16	4	
October 1992*.....	10	21	19	23	24	3	
October 1991*.....	12	32	21	17	14	4	
October 1990*.....	11	27	24	20	14	4	
The Democratic Party							
October 1993.....	11	25	26	20	15	3	[26]
April 1993.....	15	29	22	18	13	3	
March 1993.....	15	32	20	18	12	3	
October 1992*.....	19	29	22	15	12	3	
October 1991*.....	12	25	24	21	13	5	
October 1990*.....	12	27	30	19	8	4	
Rush Limbaugh							
October 1993.....	13	13	16	9	25	24	[27]
(FORM A)							
Les Aspin							
October 1993.....	2	11	24	10	7	46	[28]
(FORM B)							
Warren Christopher							
October 1993.....	4	14	25	7	5	45	[29]

(BOTH FORMS.)

4a. In general, do you approve or disapprove of the job Bill Clinton is doing as president?

	<u>10/93</u>	<u>9/93</u>	<u>7/9</u>	<u>6/9</u>	<u>4/93</u>	<u>3/93</u>	<u>1/93</u>	
Approve.....	47	50	45	41	52	57	51	[30]
Disapprove.....	43	39	45	50	34	26	16	
Not sure.....	10	11	10	9	14	17	33	

4b. Do you generally approve or disapprove of the job Bill Clinton is doing in handling the economy?

	<u>10/93</u>	<u>9/93*</u>	<u>7/93</u>	<u>6/93</u>	<u>4/93</u>	<u>3/93</u>	
Approve.....	40	42	40	33	45	52	[31]
Disapprove.....	50	48	51	56	40	28	
Not sure.....	10	10	9	11	15	20	

4c. In general, do you approve or disapprove of the job Bill Clinton is doing in handling our foreign policy?

	<u>10/93</u>	<u>9/93*</u>	<u>7/93</u>	<u>6/93</u>	<u>4/93</u>	<u>3/93</u>	
Approve.....	33	47	50	38	47	47	[32]
Disapprove.....	58	34	36	43	30	22	
Not sure.....	9	19	14	19	23	31	

4d. Which one of the following do you think is the most important issue when judging President Clinton's leadership? **(ROTATE ORDER. RECORD RESPONSE UNDER Q.4d BELOW.)**

	Q.4d Most Important		Q.4e Second Most Important	Combine d Response
Handling international crises like Bosnia, Somalia, and Haiti.....	9	[33]	16	[34] 25
Reforming the health care system.....	20		24	44
Dealing with the economy.....	31	CONTINUE	24	55
Reducing the federal budget deficit.....	14		18	32
Uniting the country.....	17		15	32
All equally (VOL).....	4	FORM A: SKIP TO Q.5a.	-	4
None of these (VOL).....	3		1	4
Not sure.....	2	FORM B: SKIP TO Q.4f.	2	4

(ASK ONLY OF RESPONDENTS WHO CHOOSE A HIGHEST PRIORITY IN Q.4d.)4e. And which of these issues would be the second most important to you? **(READ LIST AGAIN, EXCLUDING ANSWER GIVEN IN Q.4d. RECORD UNDER COLUMN Q.4e. ABOVE.)**

(FORM B--ASK EVERYONE.)

4f. In general, do you approve or disapprove of the job Congress is doing?

	<u>10/9</u>	<u>9/93</u>	<u>7/93</u>	<u>6/93</u>	<u>1/9</u>	<u>4/92*</u>	<u>10/91*</u>	<u>7/91*</u>	<u>10/90</u>	
	<u>3</u>				<u>3</u>				*	
Approve.....	29	24	27	27	27	15	26	28	22	[35]
Disapprove.....	60	65	60	61	56	78	62	63	69	1
Not sure.....	11	11	13	12	17	7	12	9	9	

*Asked only of registered voters.

(BOTH FORMS--ASK EVERYONE.)

5a. Now, I'd like to read you a list of economic issues. As of right now, which one do you feel is the most important economic issue facing the country? **(READ LIST SLOWLY. START FROM BOTTOM AND WORK YOUR WAY UP ON EVERY OTHER INTERVIEW. ACCEPT ONLY ONE ANSWER.)**

	<u>10/9</u>	<u>9/93</u>	<u>7/93</u>	<u>6/93</u>	<u>4/93</u>	<u>3/93</u>	<u>1/9</u>	<u>12/9</u>	<u>5/9</u>	<u>9/91</u>	
	<u>3</u>						<u>3</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>2</u>		
Inflation.....	5	8	8	6	4	7	7	6	7	11	[36]
Unemployment.....	43	40	37	40	44	44	44	46	46	37	1
Interest rates.....	3	2	2	2	2	2	2	3	2	3	
The federal budget deficit....	26	26	31	28	28	28	28	24	22	21	
Federal taxes.....	12	11	10	11	9	7	5	5	5	7	
The U.S. trade deficit.....	6	8	6	8	7	8	8	10	8	8	
All equally important (VOL)	4	4	4	4	5	3	5	5	8	10	
None is important (VOL).....	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
Not sure.....	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	2	3	

5b. During the next year, do you think the national economy will get better, get worse, or stay about the same?

	<u>10/9</u>	<u>9/93</u>	<u>7/93</u>	<u>6/93</u>	<u>4/93</u>	<u>3/93</u>	<u>1/93</u>	<u>12/9</u>	<u>5/9</u>	<u>9/91</u>	
	<u>3</u>							<u>2</u>	<u>2</u>		
Will get better.....	21	23	20	23	33	39	50	53	32	31	[37]
Will get worse.....	27	24	29	27	21	15	9	10	20	24	
Will stay about the same.....	50	51	48	47	44	43	39	35	45	40	
Not sure.....	2	2	3	3	2	3	2	2	3	5	

6a. Looking ahead to the next election for president, if Bill Clinton runs for reelection as the Democratic candidate, will you definitely vote for Clinton in that election, probably vote for Clinton, probably vote for the Republican candidate, or definitely vote for the Republican candidate?

Definitely vote for Clinton.....	1	[38]
Probably vote for Clinton.....	1	
Probably vote for the Republican candidate.....	2	
Definitely vote for the Republican candidate.....	5	
Depends (VOL).....	2	
	0	
	1	
	9	
	1	
	4	

Neither (VOL).....	2
Ross Perot (VOL).....	2
Not sure.....	7

- 6b. If the 1996 presidential election were held today, and the candidates were **(ROTATE NAMES)** Bob Dole, the Republican, and Bill Clinton, the Democrat, and Ross Perot, the Independent, for whom would you vote?

	<u>10/93</u>	<u>9/93</u>	<u>7/93</u>	<u>6/93</u>	
Bob Dole.....	32	26	27	27	[39]
Bill Clinton.....	37	38	35	35	
Ross Perot.....	23	27	28	30	
All equally (VOL).....	NA	-	-	3	
None of these (VOL).....	NA	4	3	5	
Not sure/refused.....	8	5	7	-	

- 6c. If the 1996 presidential election were held today, and the candidates were **(ROTATE NAMES)** Bob Dole, the Republican, and Bill Clinton, the Democrat, for whom would you vote?

Bob Dole.....	4	[40]
	5	
Bill Clinton.....	4	
	5	
Not sure/refused.....	1	
	0	

- 6d. If the 1996 presidential election were held today, and the candidates were **(ROTATE NAMES)** Colin Powell, the Republican, and Bill Clinton, the Democrat, for whom would you vote?

Colin Powell.....	4	[41]
	8	
Bill Clinton.....	3	
	8	
Not sure/refused.....	1	
	4	

(FORM A)

- 6e. And if the 1996 presidential election were held today, and the candidates were **(ROTATE NAMES)** Jack Kemp, the Republican, and Bill Clinton, the Democrat, for whom would you vote?

Jack Kemp.....	3	[42]
	6	
Bill Clinton.....	4	
	8	
Not sure/refused.....	1	
	6	

(FORM B)

- 6f. And if the 1996 presidential election were held today, and the candidates were **(ROTATE NAMES)** Dan Quayle, the Republican, and Bill Clinton, the Democrat, for whom would you vote?

Dan Quayle.....	3	[43]
	1	
Bill Clinton.....	5	
	4	
Not sure/refused.....	1	
	5	

(BOTH FORMS.)

7a. Generally speaking, do you think of yourself as a Democrat, a Republican, an Independent, or something else?

(IF "DEMOCRAT" OR "REPUBLICAN," ASK:) Would you call yourself a strong (Democrat/Republican) or a not very strong (Democrat/Republican)? **(IF "NOT SURE," CODE AS "NOT STRONG DEMOCRAT/ REPUBLICAN.")**

(IF "INDEPENDENT," ASK:) Do you think of yourself as closer to the Republican Party, closer to the Democratic Party, or do you think of yourself as strictly Independent? **(IF "NOT SURE," CODE AS "STRICTLY INDEPENDENT.")**

Strong Democrat.....	1	SKIP TO	[44]
	6		
Not strong Democrat.....	1	Q.7c.	
	3		
Independent/lean Democrat.....	1		
	0		
Strictly Independent.....	1		
	8		
Independent/lean Republican.....	1	CONTINU	
	2	E	
Not strong Republican.....	1		
	0		
Strong Republican.....	1		
	4		
Other.....	5		
Refused.....	-		
Don't know/nothing.....	2		

(ASK ONLY OF REPUBLICANS AND INDEPENDENTS WHO DO NOT LEAN DEMOCRATIC IN Q.7a.)

7b. Let me read you a list of people who might seek the 1996 Republican nomination for president. If you were voting today in the 1996 Republican primary for president, which candidate would you favor? **(READ LIST. START FROM THE BOTTOM ON EVERY OTHER INTERVIEW. IF "NOT SURE," ASK:)** Well, which way do you lean?

Dan Quayle.....	8	[45]
		1
Jack Kemp.....	14	
Colin Powell.....	25	
Lamar Alexander.....	1	
Dick Cheney.....	5	
Phil Gramm.....	2	
Bob Dole.....	28	
Pat Buchanan.....	4	
Someone else (VOL).....	2	
None (VOL).....	2	
Not sure.....	9	

(ASK EVERYONE.)

7c. In the 1996 presidential election, would you like to see Ross Perot run as a Republican, as an independent candidate, or not at all?

As a Republican candidate.....	1	[46]
	1	
As an independent candidate....	3	
	0	
Not at all.....	5	
	4	
Not sure.....	5	

- 8a. Looking ahead to next year's election for U.S. Congress, do you feel your representative deserves to be reelected, or do you think it is time to give a new person a chance?

	<u>10/93</u>	<u>9/93</u>	<u>7/93</u>	<u>10/92*</u>	<u>9/92</u> *	<u>7/92*</u>	<u>4/92*</u>	<u>2/92*</u>	<u>1/92*</u>	
Reelect representative.....	34	37	30	31	31	27	33	37	42	[47]
Give new person a chance.....	52	47	55	56	56	62	57	52	48	
Not sure.....	14	16	15	13	13	11	10	11	10	
						<u>12/91</u> *	<u>10/91</u> *	<u>10/90</u> *	<u>11/89</u> *	
						35	40	39	41	
						52	48	48	36	
						13	12	13	23	

*Asked only of registered

- 8b. In next year's election for U.S. Congress, do you plan to vote for the Republican candidate or the Democratic candidate in your district?

	<u>10/93</u>	<u>9/93</u>	<u>7/9</u> <u>3</u>	<u>11/92</u> *	<u>10/92</u> *	<u>9/92*</u>	<u>8/92</u> *	<u>7/92*</u>	<u>10/90</u> *	
Vote for the Republican candidate.....	34	29	31	35	29	32	29	31	33	[48]
Vote for the Democratic candidate.....	32	32	32	45	46	43	43	35	35	1
Depends (VOL).....	21	24	25	4	6	7	7	11	14	
Neither (VOL).....	2	2	3	1	2	1	2	3	2	
Not sure.....	11	13	9	15	17	17	19	20	16	

*Asked only of registered voters.

(FORM B)

- 8c. Do you think there should or should not be a limit on the number of terms to which a senator or member of Congress can be elected?

	<u>10/93</u>	<u>10/92*</u>	<u>4/92*</u>	<u>10/91*</u>	<u>10/90*</u>	<u>1/90*</u>	
Should be term limits.....	76	79	80	75	72	67	[49]
Should not be term limits.....	20	17	18	21	24	28	
Not sure.....	4	4	2	4	4	5	

*Asked only of registered voters.

(BOTH FORMS.)

- 8d. In general, do you think it is better for the same political party to control both the Congress and the presidency, so they can work together more closely, or do you think it is better to have different political parties controlling the Congress and the presidency to prevent either one from going too far?

	<u>10/9</u> <u>3</u>	<u>12/9</u> <u>2</u>	<u>10/92</u> *	<u>9/92*</u>	<u>8/92*</u>	<u>7/92*</u>	<u>4/92</u> *	
Better if same party controls Congress and the presidency.....	30	37	39	40	43	40	32	[50]
Better if different parties control Congress and the presidency.....	58	51	47	46	44	47	61	1
Not sure.....	12	12	14	14	13	13	7	
			<u>1/92*</u>	<u>10/91</u> *	<u>10/90</u> *	<u>1/90*</u>	<u>9/86</u> *	
			28	24	23	24	28	
			62	67	67	63	64	

10 9 10 13 8

*Asked only of registered voters.

(FORM A)

- 8e. Now that the presidency and the Congress are both controlled by the same party, do you think Congress and the president are working well together to end the gridlock in Washington, or do you think things are pretty much as they were before because Congress and the president always have differences?

	<u>10/93</u>	<u>4/93</u>	<u>3/93</u> *	<u>1/93*</u>	
President and Congress are able to work together....	22	29	47	61	[51]
Things are pretty much as they were before.....	72	65	47	34	
Not sure.....	6	6	6	5	

(BOTH FORMS.)

- 8f. If you knew nothing else about the following two candidates who might run for Congress in next year's elections, which one would you be more likely to support? **(ROTATE DESCRIPTIONS:)**

Candidate A supported President Clinton's economic program, supported President Clinton's health care program, and supported the North America Free Trade Agreement.

Candidate B opposed President Clinton's economic program, opposed President Clinton's health care reform program, and opposed the North America Free Trade Agreement.

Which candidate would you be more likely to support--Candidate A or Candidate B?

	<u>10/93</u>	<u>9/93</u>	
Candidate A/supported economic program, health care reform, and NAFTA.....	52	52	[52]
Candidate B/opposed economic program, health care reform, and NAFTA.....	39	38	
Depends on candidate (VOL).....	4	3	
Not sure.....	5	7	

- 9a. Do you believe Bill Clinton is a tax-and-spend, big-government kind of Democrat, or is he a different kind of Democrat?

	<u>10/93</u>	<u>9/9</u>	<u>7/9</u>	<u>6/9</u>	<u>3/9</u>	<u>10/92*</u>	
Bill Clinton is a tax-and-spend, big-government Democrat...	41	37	38	42	29	35	[53]
Bill Clinton is a different kind of Democrat.....	50	54	54	47	60	56	
Not sure.....	9	9	8	11	11	9	

*Asked only of registered voters.

(FORM A)

- 9b. Which of the following statements comes closer to your view about Bill Clinton's first year in office? **(READ STATEMENTS. ROTATE.)**

Statement A: Bill Clinton has tried to tackle too many of the country's serious problems.

OR

Statement B: Bill Clinton has taken on the right amount of the country's serious problems.

Statement A/Tried to tackle too much.....	6	[54]
	1	
Statement B/Taken on right amount.....	3	
	2	
Neither (VOL).....	5	
Not sure.....	2	

(BOTH FORMS.)

9c. In the next few months, the Clinton Administration and Congress will be dealing with the following five issues. I would like to read you a list of these issues and ask you which ONE of these issues you would make the highest priority. **(ROTATE ORDER. RECORD RESPONSE UNDER Q.9c BELOW.)**

	Q.9c Highest Priority		Q.9d. Second Highest Priority	Combine d Response
Reforming the financing and rules for campaigns				
October 1993.....	3	[55]	7	[56] 10
September 1993.....	2		6	8
Reforming the government to make it more efficient				
October 1993.....	37		23	60
September 1993.....	37		28	65
Reforming federal laws on crime		CONTINUE		
October 1993.....	25		25	50
September 1993.....	19		25	44
Reforming the health care system				
October 1993.....	24		28	52
September 1993.....	33		29	62
Dealing with the North American Free Trade Agreement				
October 1993.....	7		14	21
September 1993.....	5		10	15
All equally (VOL)		SKIP TO Q.10a FORM A, Q.10b FORM B		
October 1993.....	2		-	2
September 1993.....	3		-	3
None of these (VOL)				
October 1993.....	-		1	1
September 1993.....	-		-	-
Not sure				
September 1993.....	2		2	4
October 1993.....	1		2	3

(ASK ONLY OF RESPONDENTS WHO CHOOSE A HIGHEST PRIORITY IN Q.9c.)

9d. And which of these issues would be your second highest priority? **(READ LIST AGAIN, EXCLUDING ANSWER GIVEN IN Q.9c. RECORD UNDER COLUMN Q.9d. ABOVE.)**

(ASK EVERYONE--FORM A.)

10a. Do you recall any promises President Clinton made in his campaign last year? **(IF "YES,"**
ASK:) What were they? [57-60]

(PROBE:) Anything else?

Health care reform, affordable health care for every American	34%
Taxes; no higher taxes for the middle class	17
Reduce the budget deficit	14
Fairness to gays in the military	11
People back to work; jobs	8
Improve the economy	5
Reform government, less gridlock	4
Control government spending	3
Foreign policy issues, Bosnia, Russia	2
-----	-----
Don't know; no response	36

(ASK EVERYONE--BOTH FORMS.)

10b. Do you think Bill Clinton as president has concentrated on the issues on which he campaigned during last year's presidential race, or do you think he has changed his focus to other issues?

	<u>10/93</u>	<u>6/93*</u>	<u>4/93*</u>	
Bill Clinton has concentrated on the issues on which he campaigned.....	40	30	38	[61]
Bill Clinton has changed his focus to other issues.....	48	60	51	
Some of both (VOL).....	8	6	8	
Not sure.....	4	4	3	

*Asked of one-half the respondents.

	Very Good 5	4	Mixe d 3	2	Very Poor 1	Not Sure 6	
(FORM A--NEXT 8 ITEMS)							
His ethical and moral values							
October 1993.....	19	24	30	11	15	1	[62]
January 1993.....	23	27	29	12	8	1	
Staying in touch with the American people							
October 1993.....	28	29	25	11	7	-	[63]
June 1993.....	25	25	29	10	10	1	
January 1993.....	46	27	20	4	2	1	
Reducing the federal budget deficit							
October 1993.....	5	11	34	23	25	2	[64]
Serving as commander-in-chief							
October 1993.....	14	18	32	16	19	1	[65]
January 1993.....	20	23	39	8	8	2	
Representing traditional American values							
October 1993.....	17	23	27	15	16	2	[66]
January 1993.....	27	23	32	7	9	2	
Working with Congress							
October 1993.....	12	29	41	12	4	2	[67]
June 1993.....	5	18	45	16	12	4	
January 1993.....	24	32	31	5	2	6	
Dealing with the economy							
October 1993.....	9	17	37	20	16	1	[68]
Standing up to pressure							
October 1993.....	23	25	26	14	11	1	[69]
January 1993.....	29	29	27	6	5	4	
(FORM B--NEXT 8 ITEMS)							
Achieving his goals							
October 1993.....	5	16	46	17	15	1	[70]
January 1993.....	22	29	34	7	5	3	
Keeping his word							
October 1993.....	6	16	31	11	25	1	[71]
January 1993.....	12	22	34	13	17	2	
Uniting the country							
October 1993.....	7	18	33	14	17	1	[72]
January 1993.....	28	28	26	9	6	3	
Clearly communicating his goals for the country							

October 1993.....	15	22	30	1 8	14	1	[73]
January 1993.....	30	31	25	6	7	1	
Achieving his goal of making Americans' lives more secure							
October 1993.....	6	12	34	2 2	25	1	[74]
His ability to handle a crisis							
October 1993.....	9	18	32	1 8	22	1	[75]
January 1993.....	16	23	31	1 1	7	12	
Reforming the health care system							
October 1993.....	16	23	25	1 4	19	3	[76]
Having the right policies for the country							
October 1993.....	7	18	37	1 7	19	2	[77]

(FORM A)

10d. Please tell me which of the following best describes your feelings towards the Democrats in Congress:

The Democrats in Congress are too opposed to Clinton's programs.....	1 8	[78]
The Democrats in Congress are too supportive of Clinton's programs	2 5	
The Democrats in Congress have the right balance of support for and opposition to Clinton's programs.....	4 8	
Not sure.....	9	

(FORM B)

10e. Please tell me which of the following best describes your feelings toward the Republicans in Congress:

The Republicans in Congress are too opposed to Clinton's programs.....	3 4	[79]
The Republicans in Congress are too supportive of Clinton's programs	1 0	
The Republicans in Congress have the right balance of support for and opposition to Clinton's programs.....	4 6	
Not sure.....	1 0	

(FORM A)

11a. Please tell me which one of the following statements comes closest to your point of view on Bill Clinton's priorities as president. **(READ STATEMENTS. ROTATE FIRST TWO, BUT ALWAYS READ STATEMENT "C" LAST.)**

STATEMENT A: Bill Clinton is spending too much time and attention on foreign affairs and not paying enough attention to the domestic goals.

OR

STATEMENT B: Bill Clinton is spending too much time and attention on the domestic goals and not paying enough attention to foreign affairs.

OR

STATEMENT C: Bill Clinton has reached the right balance between foreign affairs and domestic goals.

	<u>10/93</u>	<u>1/93*</u>	
Statement A/too much foreign/not enough domestic.....	47	7	[80 1
Statement B/too much domestic/not enough foreign.....	14	30	
Statement C/right balance.....	33	58	
Not sure.....	6	5	

(BOTH FORMS.)

11b. Now, let me read you some specific issues. When it comes to **(READ ITEM)**, which party do you think would do a better job--the Democratic Party, the Republican Party, both about the same, or neither? **(REPEAT FOR EACH ITEM LISTED BELOW. ROTATE ORDER OF ITEMS.)**

	Democratic Party	Republican Party	Both	Neither	Not Sure	
(FORM A)						
Dealing with the economy						
October 1993.....	22	27	20	28	3	[81]
March 1993.....	34	18	34	11	3	
July 1992*.....	26	18	35	18	3	
May 1992.....	29	23	26	17	5	
January 1992*.....	28	23	33	12	4	
October 1991*.....	27	28	26	14	5	
Dealing with the issue of abortion						
October 1993.....	33	25	19	14	9	[82]
July 1992*.....	32	18	22	19	9	
May 1992.....	33	20	14	17	16	
April 1992*.....	34	19	19	17	11	
Feb/Mar 1992*.....	31	20	20	17	12	
October 1991*.....	36	22	14	15	13	
Dealing with crime						
October 1993.....	20	27	22	24	7	[83]
Dealing with education						
October 1993.....	32	24	16	24	4	[84]
July 1992*.....	42	17	25	12	4	
October 1991*+.....	28	14	33	18	7	
October 1990*.....	33	15	30	14	8	
November 1989*.....	30	15	32	15	8	
Reducing the federal deficit						
October 1993.....	27	23	27	18	5	[85]
March 1993.....	39	16	23	18	4	
April 1992*.....	20	19	18	37	6	
October 1991*.....	24	29	16	24	7	
October 1990*.....	25	27	19	23	6	
Protecting the environment						
October 1993.....	44	15	13	22	6	[86]
July 1992*.....	38	11	27	18	6	
October 1991*.....	39	16	24	12	9	
October 1990*.....	38	15	27	13	7	
November 1989*.....	36	15	25	14	10	
Protecting America's interest on trade issues						
October 1993.....	20	39	13	20	8	[87]
July 1992*.....	23	32	24	15	6	
May 1992.....	24	32	21	12	11	
January 1992*.....	25	26	31	9	9	
October 1991*.....	22	36	21	10	11	
October 1990*.....	22	35	24	9	10	

(Q.11b. cont'd)

	Democratic Party	Republican Party	Both	Neither	Not Sure	
Generating new ideas						
October 1993.....	38	17	17	22	6	[88]

Looking out for the middle class

October 1993.....	42	22	22	12	2	[89]
January 1992*.....	37	15	27	16	5	
October 1991*.....	47	19	11	16	7	
October 1990*.....	47	18	16	14	5	
November 1989*.....	44	21	16	12	7	

(FORM B)**Dealing with foreign policy**

October 1993.....	10	37	11	39	3	[90]
July 1992*.....	15	48	24	7	6	
April 1992*.....	21	48	18	9	4	
Feb/Mar 1992*.....	16	48	22	7	7	
January 1992*.....	13	42	31	6	8	

Dealing with taxes

October 1993.....	23	34	16	23	4	[91]
July 1992*.....	29	20	20	25	6	
May 1992.....	29	24	17	22	8	
April 1992*.....	30	24	18	23	5	
Feb/Mar 1992*.....	35	26	17	17	5	
October 1991*.....	26	31	18	18	7	

Dealing with the problem of health care

October 1993.....	44	16	16	18	6	[92]
March 1993.....	57	9	17	12	5	
July 1992*.....	44	10	21	19	6	
April 1992*.....	48	12	17	18	5	
October 1991*.....	46	12	18	16	8	

Standing up to the special interests

October 1993.....	28	19	22	24	7	[93]
March 1993.....	36	13	20	23	8	

Dealing with race relations

October 1993.....	38	12	16	27	7	[94]
May 1992.....	39	14	19	20	8	

Reducing the drug problem

October 1993.....	15	18	29	32	6	[95]
Feb/Mar 1992*.....	15	21	31	27	6	
October 1991*.....	16	22	26	27	9	
October 1990*.....	20	18	30	24	8	
November 1989*.....	15	21	31	24	9	

Controlling government spending

October 1993.....	19	27	29	20	5	[96]
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Ensuring a strong national defense

October 1993.....	11	55	6	24	4	[97]
November 1989*.....	15	51	21	5	8	

(FORM B)

11c. Now, let me read you some descriptions. Please tell me whether each one applies more to the Democratic Party, the Republican Party, both about the same, or neither. **(REPEAT FOR EACH ITEM. ROTATE.)**

	Democratic Party	Republican Party	Both	Neither	Not Sure	
The party of the future.....	22	21	23	26	8	[98]
Exciting.....	20	15	16	44	5	[99]
Trustworthy.....	17	20	16	44	3	[100]
Effective, gets the job done.....	18	28	22	28	4	[101]
Wasteful.....	25	19	46	7	3	[102]
Old-fashioned.....	17	46	20	12	5	[103]

(BOTH FORMS.)

12a. Please tell me which statement comes closer to your point of view. **(READ STATEMENTS. ROTATE.)**

Statement A: The federal government can provide services more efficiently than it does now, and should concentrate on providing those services at a lower cost.

OR

Statement B: The federal government will never be able to provide services without a lot of waste--so it should provide fewer services, and save the taxpayers' money.

Statement A/Same services, more efficiently at lower cost.....	4	[104]
	8	
Statement B/Fewer services, save money.....	4	
	6	
Some of both (VOL).....	3	
Not sure.....	3	

12b. Now I would like to read you some proposals about the system for funding political campaigns in America. Please tell me which of these approaches you would prefer. **(ROTATE ORDER.)**

Proposal A: Using public funds to pay part of the cost of congressional campaigns, in exchange for limits on contributions from individuals and political action committees, to reduce the influence of special interests.

OR

Proposal B: Allowing contributors to give as much as they want, and allowing candidates to spend as much as they can, but reporting all the information and making it publicly available.

OR

Proposal C: Keeping the current system of campaign financing.

Proposal A/public funds.....	41	[105]
		1
Proposal B/no limits, public reporting.....	31	
Proposal C/current system.....	22	
Don't know enough about current system (VOL).....	2	
Not sure.....	4	

(FORM A)

- 12c. Do you think the power of special interests to influence government will be reduced if Congress passes a bill to create a system in which taxpayers pay part of the cost of political campaigns?

Yes, influence will be reduced.....	34	[106]
No, influence will not be reduced.....	55	
Not sure.....	11	

- 12e. Some people have suggested that the minimum wage be increased to help people in low-paying jobs keep up with the cost of living. Other people feel that an increase in the minimum wage would increase costs to businesses and weaken the economy. Do you favor or oppose increasing the minimum wage?

Favor increase.....	6	[108]
	4	
Oppose increase.....	3	
	1	
Not sure.....	5	

(FORM A)

- 12f. If the Constitution is amended to require a balanced federal budget, do you believe that Congress will really balance the federal budget, or not?

Congress will balance budget.....	1	[109]
	7	
Congress will not balance budget.....	7	
	7	
Not sure.....	6	

(BOTH FORMS.)

- 13a. From what you have heard or read, do you favor or oppose President Clinton's health care program?

		NBC News	
	<u>10/93</u>	<u>9/22/93</u>	
Favor.....	47	51	[110]
Oppose.....	37	18	
Need to know more (VOL).....	12	17	
Not sure.....	4	14	

- 13b. Do you think that you and your family will be helped by the Clinton health care plan, hurt by the plan, or not affected either way?

	<u>10/93</u>	<u>9/93*</u>	
Helped.....	21	20	[111]
Hurt.....	34	23	
Not affected either way.....	38	51	
Not sure.....	7	6	

*Asked of one-half the respondents.

- 13c. Which of the following do you see as the most important health care issue at the present time?
(**READ CHOICES SLOWLY. START FROM THE BOTTOM ON EVERY OTHER INTERVIEW.**)

	<u>10/93</u>	<u>9/93</u>	<u>3/93</u>	
The <u>cost</u> of health care.....	42	42	48	[112]
People who are not covered by insurance.....	35	41	35]
The <u>quality</u> of health care.....	14	10	8	
All equally (VOL).....	7	5	8	
None of these (VOL).....	1	1	-	
Not sure.....	1	1	1	

(FORM A)

- 13d. President Clinton's health care plan would require employers to pay for most of their workers' health insurance. Critics say that it would rely too much on government to regulate the health care system, would hurt businesses, and would limit people's ability to select their doctor. How concerned are you about this criticism of President Clinton's health care plan--very much concerned, a great deal, just somewhat, or not very concerned?

Very much concerned.....	3	[113]
	9	
A great deal concerned.....	1	
	6	
Just somewhat concerned.....	2	
	7	
Not very concerned.....	1	
	7	
Not sure.....	1	

(FORM B)

- 13e. A Republican health care plan would require every American to purchase health insurance. Critics say that it would cause some businesses to stop providing health coverage for their employees, and that it fails to control the rising increases in doctors' fees and other health care costs. How concerned are you about this criticism of that Republican health care plan--very much concerned, a great deal, just somewhat, or not very concerned?

Very much concerned.....	3	[114]
	3	
A great deal concerned.....	1	
	6	
Just somewhat concerned.....	3	
	1	
Not very concerned.....	1	
	6	
Not sure.....	4	

(BOTH FORMS.)

Now, some questions on the free trade agreement that Congress will consider during the coming month.

- 14a. Do you favor or oppose the North American Free Trade Agreement with Mexico and Canada that eliminates nearly all restrictions on imports, exports, and business investment between the United States, Mexico, and Canada? If you feel you have not heard enough about this issue yet to have an opinion, please just say so.

	<u>10/93</u>	<u>9/93</u>	<u>7/93</u>	<u>4/93</u>	<u>1/93</u>	<u>10/92**</u>	<u>9/92**</u>	
Favor NAFTA.....	29	25	31	27	28	21	27	[115]
					3]
Oppose NAFTA.....	33	36	29	25	31	37	34	
Have not heard enough about	34	34	36	44	36	38	35	

issue.....

Not sure..... 4 | 5 4 4 5 4 4

- 14b. Now I would like to read you some statements that have been made about the North American Free Trade Agreement. Please tell me whether you agree or disagree with each statement. (READ STATEMENTS. START FROM THE BOTTOM ON EVERY OTHER INTERVIEW.)

	<u>Agree</u>	<u>Disagree</u>	<u>Not Sure</u>	
If the agreement is passed, American manufacturing jobs will move to Mexico				
October 1993.....	49	40	11	[116]
September 1993.....	74	20	6	
If the agreement is passed, some jobs would be lost in the U.S., but even more jobs would be created				
October 1993.....	42	45	13	[117]
September 1993.....	40	50	10	
If the agreement does not pass, the United States will lose respect in the world community				
October 1993.....	22	67	11	[118]
Japan and Europe will take advantage of economic opportunities in Mexico, and we would lose the chance to export our goods to Mexico if the agreement fails				
October 1993.....	39	46	15	[119]

- 15a. Please tell me which of the following statements comes closer to your point of view. **(READ STATEMENTS. ROTATE.)**

Statement A: The United States should take the lead in solving international crises and conflicts.

OR

Statement B: The United States should let other countries and the United Nations take the lead in solving international crises and conflicts.

Statement A/U.S. should take lead.....	2	[120]
	1]
Statement B/U.S. should not take lead.....	7	
	2	
Some of both (VOL).....	4	
Not sure.....	3	

- 15b. When the United States is asked to be part of a United Nations international peacekeeping force in a troubled part of the world, should we take part or leave this job to other countries?

U.S. should take part.....	71	[121]
U.S. should leave job to other countries.....	23	
Not sure.....	6	

- 15c. For each of the following situations, please tell me if you would favor or oppose the use of U.S. military forces. **(FOR EACH ITEM, ASK:) Would you favor or oppose the use of U.S. military forces (READ ITEM)?**

	Would d Favor Use	Would Oppos e Use	Not Sure	
In order to guarantee peace and security in an important region of the world.....	63	27	10	[122]
To help prevent large numbers of people from starving to death.....	67	27	6	[123]
When one nation is trying to destroy another nation by killing its people and driving them from their homes.....	57	35	8	[124]
When the U.S. is under direct military threat.....	94	4	2	[125]
When important economic needs of the United States, such as oil, are at stake.....	60	30	10	[126]
In order to guarantee that a democratically elected leader can govern, if that leader is under attack by that country's military or by rebels.....	47	41	12	[127]

- 16a. Do you feel the situation in Somalia could turn into another Vietnam for the United States, or don't you feel that is possible?

		NBC News	
	<u>10/93</u>	<u>10/6/93</u>	
Yes, it could turn into another Vietnam.....	62	56	[128]
No, it could not turn into another Vietnam...	34	37	
Not sure.....	4	7	

- 16b. Recently, President Clinton sent six warships to Haiti to enforce the United Nation's decision to prevent trade with that country unless their military dictators turn over power to their democratically elected government. His reasons also include protecting the one thousand Americans now living in Haiti and creating safe conditions there so that residents of that country will not try to come to the United States illegally. Do you agree with or disagree with the President's decision?

Agree with decision to send warships to Haiti.....	60	[129]
Disagree with decision to send warships to Haiti.....	32	
Not sure.....	8	

- 16c. Do you favor or oppose the United States military taking part in an international effort to enforce a peace agreement in Bosnia?

Favor.....	48	[130]
Oppose.....	43	
Not sure.....	9	

(FORM A)

- 17a. As you may know, the faces of four presidents--George Washington, Thomas Jefferson, Abraham Lincoln, and Teddy Roosevelt--are carved into the side of Mount Rushmore. Which one of the following presidents would you most like to see added as a fifth face on Mount Rushmore?
(READ LIST. ROTATE ORDER OF NAMES.)

	<u>10/93</u>	<u>3/91*</u>	[131]
John Kennedy.....	33	36	
George Bush.....	3	11	
Franklin Roosevelt.....	33	28	
Ronald Reagan.....	12	6	
None of these (VOL).....	16	16	
Not sure.....	3	3	
*Asked only of registered voters.			
EMBARGOED BY NBC			

(FORM A)

- 17b. Do you believe that John Kennedy was truly a great president, or do you feel that he was overrated?

	3	[132] 1
Great president.....	7	
Overrated.....	5	
	1	
In between (VOL).....	7	
Not sure.....	5	
EMBARGOED BY NBC		

(FORM B)

- 17c. Do you agree or disagree with this statement: "If John Kennedy had not been killed in 1963, the world would be a very different place today."

	5	[133]]
Agree.....	5	
Disagree.....	3	
	4	
Not sure.....	1	
	1	
EMBARGOED BY NBC		

(FORM B)

18. Of the following public figures, which one are you most tired of hearing from and would most like to tell, "Oh, shut up!"? **(READ NAMES. ROTATE. ACCEPT ONE RESPONSE ONLY.)**

Rush Limbaugh.....	21	[134]
Ross Perot.....	18]
Jesse Jackson.....	24	
Phil Donahue.....	13	
Pat Buchanan.....	8	
All equally (VOL).....	9	
None (VOL).....	4	
Not sure.....	3	

(BOTH FORMS)**FACTUALS:** Now I am going to ask you a few questions for statistical purposes only.

F1. Did you happen to vote in the 1992 presidential election?

(IF "YES," ASK:) For whom did you vote--George Bush, the Republican, Bill Clinton, the Democrat, or Ross Perot, the Independent?

Didn't vote.....	1	[135]
	5	
Voted for George Bush.....	3	
	0	
Voted for Bill Clinton.....	3	
	3	
Voted for Ross Perot.....	1	
	3	
Other candidate (VOL).....	-	
Too young (VOL).....	2	
Not sure/refused.....	7	

F2. In politics today, do you generally consider yourself to be very liberal, somewhat liberal, moderate, somewhat conservative, very conservative, or do you think your views cannot really be described in those terms?

Very liberal.....	6	[136]
Somewhat liberal.....	1	
	5	
Moderate.....	2	
	7	
Somewhat conservative.....	2	
	5	
Very conservative.....	1	
	1	
Views cannot be described in those	1	
terms.....	4	
Not sure.....	2	

F3. What is the last grade you completed in school? **(DO NOT READ CHOICES.)**

Grade school.....	2	[137]
Some high school.....	8	
High school graduate.....	3	
	3	
Some college, no degree.....	1	
	5	
Vocational training, 2-year college.....	9	
4-year college/Bachelor's degree.....	1	
	9	
Some postgraduate work, no degree.....	2	
2-3 years postgraduate work, Master's	8	
degree.....		
Doctoral degree/law degree.....	3	
Not sure.....	1	

F4. How old are you? (IF REFUSED, ASK:) Well, can you tell me which age group you belong to? Are you in the age group 18 to 24, 25 to 29, 30 to 34, 35 to 39, 40 to 44, 45 to 49, 50 to 54, 55 to 59, 60 to 64, or 65 and over?

18-24.....	1	[138]
	1	

25-29.....	9
30-34.....	1
	3
35-39.....	1
	2
40-44.....	1
	1
45-49.....	9
50-54.....	7
55-59.....	6
60-64.....	6
65 and over.....	1
	5
Refused.....	1

F5. What type of work do you do?

Professional/manager.....	2	[139]
	6	
White collar worker.....	1	
	7	
Blue collar worker.....	2	
	3	
Farmer.....	1	
Student.....	3	
Homemaker.....	7	
Retired.....	1	
	9	
Unemployed.....	3	
Never worked/not sure.....	1	

(ASK OF ALL WOMEN.)

F6a. Do you work outside the home or not?

Work outside the home.....	2	[140]
	9	
Do not work outside the home.....	2	
	1	
Not sure/refused.....	3	

(ASK EVERYONE.)

F6b. Are you, or is any member of this household, a member of a labor union?

Respondent is union member.....	1	[141]
	0	
Other person in household is union member.....	7	
Non-union household.....	8	
	1	
Not sure.....	2	

F7. Do you have any children who live at home with you? **(IF HAVE CHILDREN AT HOME, ASK:)**
How old are your children? **(IF DECLINE TO GIVE AGES, ASK:)** Are your children under age 6, age 6 to 11, age 12 to 15, age 16 to 18, or over age 18? **(ACCEPT MULTIPLE RESPONSES.)**

Yes, Have Children at Home		[142]
Under age 6.....	1	>
	8	
Age 6 to 11.....	1	

	7
Age 12-15.....	1
	3
Age 16-18.....	7
Over age 18.....	9
<u>No, Do Not Have Children At</u>	5
<u>Home</u>	6
<u>Not Sure/Refused</u>	1

F8. In what religion were you brought up?

Protestant.....	4	[143]
	8	
Catholic.....	2	
	9	
Jewish.....	3	
Other.....	1	
	5	
None.....	3	
Not sure/refused.....	2	

F9. Are you white, black, Hispanic, Asian, or something else?

White.....	81	[144]
Black.....	10	
Hispanic.....	5	
Asian.....	2	
Other.....	1	
Not sure/refused.....	1	

F10. If you added together the yearly income of all the members of your family who were living at home last year, would the total be less than \$10,000, between \$10,000 and \$20,000, between \$20,000 and \$30,000, between \$30,000 and \$40,000, between \$40,000 and \$50,000, between \$50,000 and \$75,000, or would the total be more than that?

Less than \$10,000.....	7	[145]
Between \$10,000 and \$20,000.....	1	
	4	
Between \$20,000 and \$30,000.....	1	
	6	
Between \$30,000 and \$40,000.....	1	
	6	
Between \$40,000 and \$50,000.....	1	
	2	
Between \$50,000 and \$75,000.....	1	
	5	
More than \$75,000.....	1	
	2	
Not sure/refused.....	8	

F11. This survey is being conducted as part of continuing coverage of national issues by NBC News and *The Wall Street Journal*. A few reporters assigned to this story will be calling back a selected number of participants to get additional insights. Would you have any objection to being contacted?

Do not object.....	8	[146]
	3	
Object--do not call.....	1	
	7	